

Message Text

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TAGS: MPOL, NATO, CA

SUBJECT: NATO LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM -
CANADIAN COUNTER-PROPOSAL

REF: A.USNATO 4434, DTG 021826Z MAY 78

B.USNATO 4448, DTG 031300Z MAY 78

1. AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY, YOU SHOULD CONVEY THE
FOLLOWING POINTS TO DPC AMBASSADORS.

-- US FINDS THE CANADIAN DRAFT, SUBMITTED AT THE ELEVENTH
HOUR, A SERIOUS THREAT TO NATO'S INTENSIVE EFFORT THIS
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YEAR TO DEVELOP A MEANINGFUL LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM
FOR MINISTERS AND HEADS OF GOVERNMENT TO APPROVE THIS
SPRING. GIVEN THE LTDP'S IMPORTANCE TO THE SUMMIT,
THE CANADIAN COUNTER-PROPOSAL THUS JEOPARDIZES EVERYTHING
THE ALLIANCE HAS BEEN TRYING TO ACCOMPLISH DURING THE
PAST YEAR. THE CANADIAN PROPOSAL FOR A DELAY OF SIX
MONTHS IN DEALING WITH THE LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM

WHILE ADDITIONAL COST ANALYSES TAKES PLACE WOULD PUT US BACK NEARLY TO WHERE WE WERE AT LAST YEAR'S SUMMIT. IN MANY CASES, DETAILED COST OF LONGER-TERM PROGRAMS STRETCHING INTO 1990'S WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE ANYWAY. WE CONSIDER IT ESSENTIAL FOR THE WASHINGTON 1978 SUMMIT THAT THERE BE A SUBSTANTIVE RESPONSE TO THE LONDON MAY 1977 SUMMIT DIRECTIVE FOR DEVELOPING OF A LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM FOR APPROVAL IN SPRING 1978.

--(IN ANSWER TO THE CANADIAN ARGUMENT THAT ALLIANCE IS NOT READY FOR FINANCIAL COMMITMENT) THE ONLY FIRM COMMITMENTS TO BE TAKEN BY APPROVAL OF LTDP IS THAT OF AGREEING TO USE THE LTDP MEASURES FOR NATIONAL AND COOPERATIVE PROGRAMMING, WITH REPORT OF PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS TO BE SUBMITTED ANNUALLY, WHEN APPROPRIATE REVISION OF NATO PROGRAMS CAN BE CONSIDERED COLLECTIVELY. THE LTDP REPORT ONLY COMMITS NATIONS IN GENERAL TO PURSUE THE MAJOR MEASURES CITED, SUBJECT OF COURSE TO COST REFINEMENT, AVAILABILITY OF RESOURCES, AND WORKING OUT OF TECHNICAL DETAILS. THIS FACT GOES WITHOUT SAYING, SINCE WE ARE ALL SOVEREIGN NATIONS.

-- WHAT THE LTDP REPORT CALLS FOR IS "BEST EFFORTS" TO MOVE AHEAD WITH MAJOR PROGRAM ELEMENTS AS FAST AS WE ARE ABLE. WE HOPE FOR A MAJOR POLITICAL AGREEMENT AT THE SUMMIT TO PURSUE THESE ESSENTIAL MILITARY

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PROGRAMS OVER THE LONG TERM AND TO COORDINATE OUR EFFORTS TO DO SO. IN EFFECT, THE PRESENT REPORT IS ONLY AN AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE, BUT AT LEAST IT IS AN AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE TO DO SOMETHING. THE CANADIAN PROPOSAL IS AN AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE TO DO FURTHER STUDY.

-- WE ARE GRAVELY CONCERNED ON POLITICAL GROUNDS THAT TO CONVENE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT TO DO NO MORE THAN ENDORSE FURTHER STUDY WOULD ROB SUMMIT OF MUCH OF ITS PURPOSE AND MEANING, WHILE RESULTING IN LOSS OF MOMENTUM CAREFULLY BUILT UP OVER PRECEDING YEAR.

--(AT YOUR DISCRETION WITH THOSE AMBASSADORS YOU BELIEVE APPROPRIATE) US IS MAKING REPRESENTATIONS TO THIS EFFECT IN OTTAWA, AND HOPES ALLIES WILL PROCEED ON CURRENT COURSE, SINCE SUMMIT VERY NEAR.

2. FOLLOWING ARE THE TALKING POINTS SECRETARY BROWN USED WITH CANADA'S DEFENSE MINISTER DANSON MAY 3RD TO TRY TO RALLY THE CANADIANS BACK TO OUR APPROACH TO THE LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM (LTDP) AT

THIS MONTH'S SUMMIT. AMBASSADOR ENDERS IS MAKING A PARALLEL REPRESENTATION TO THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS. OUR BASIC PROBLEM WITH THE PRESENT INITIATIVE IS THAT, IN ORDER TO LIMIT THE FEARED BITE ON THEIR RESOURCE COMMITMENT TO NATO (TWO PERCENT OF CANADIAN GNP), THEY ARE RISKING OUR WHOLE EFFORT TO GET OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES TO DO MORE AND TO COOPERATE MORE FULLY. OUR REPRESENTATIONS TO OTTAWA ARE INTENDED TO GET ACROSS DISCREETLY THAT THE EUROPEANS ARE THE REAL TARGETS, AND THAT THE EFFECT OF THE CANADIAN COUNTER-PROPOSAL WOULD BE TO LET THE EUROPEANS OFF THE HOOK ON THE LTDP.

BEGIN SECRETARY BROWN'S TALKING POINTS:
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-- I HAVE YOUR LETTER AND ALSO JUST SAW CANADIAN PROPOSAL TO WHICH YOU REFERRED. REGRETTABLY, CANADIAN PERMREP HARDY DROPPED THIS BOMBSHELL AT SURPRISE MEETING IN BRUSSELS BEFORE WE OR ANY OTHER ALLY HAD CHANCE TO ADVISE CAUTION.

-- FRANKLY, SUCH A MAJOR CHANGE IN SIGNALS AT LAST MINUTE COULD TORPEDO LTDP, AND THUS THE WASHINGTON SUMMIT.

-- TRYING THIS KIND OF A COMPLETE RE-WRITE AT THIS LATE DATE COULD MOVE US ALL THE WAY BACK TO SQUARE ONE, BECAUSE CANADIAN PROPOSAL IS ALMOST PRECISELY WHAT ALLIANCE ALREADY DECIDED A YEAR AGO. MOREOVER, IT WOULD DESTROY THE PRESIDENT'S WHOLE GAME PLAN OF HAVING HEADS OF GOVERNMENT GIVE REAL PERSONAL PUSH TO THEIR GOVERNMENTS AT WASHINGTON SUMMIT.

-- IN ANY CASE, ANOTHER SIX MONTHS' EFFORT TO DETERMINE THE COSTS ASSOCIATED WITH LTDP (FOR DECISION AT DECEMBER 1978 DPC) WOULD NOT BE LIKELY TO PRODUCE MUCH MORE THAN WE ALREADY HAVE, BUT IT WOULD DELAY THE NECESSARY LTDP FOLLOW-THROUGH FOR POSSIBLY A YEAR OR MORE. IN THE CASE OF MANY LONGER TERM PROPOSALS, SUCH COSTS CAN'T BE WORKED OUT FOR YEARS ANYWAY.

-- WE REALIZE CANADIANS MAY HAVE MONEY PROBLEMS, BUT THE WHOLE ACCENT OF LTDP IS NOT ON MAJOR ADDED OUTLAYS -- RATHER ON MUCH GREATER ALLIANCE COOPERATION BECAUSE MORE THAN THREE PERCENT REAL GROWTH IS NOT POLITICALLY IN SIGHT. CANADIANS DON'T SEEM TO REALIZE LTDP
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DOES NOT EVEN ASK FOR ANY BLANK CHECKS. YOU AGREED WITH APEL AND MULLEY DURING APRIL NPG VISIT THAT NATIONS NEED ONLY COMMIT THEMSELVES IN GENERAL AT DPC AND SUMMIT TO PURSUE MAJOR MEASURES CITED--SUBJECT OF COURSE TO COST REFINEMENT, AVAILABILITY OF RESOURCES, AND WORKING OUT OF TECHNICAL DETAILS WHERE RELEVANT.

-- FURTHERMORE, AGREEMENT AT THE SUMMIT TO ADOPT THE SUBSTANCE OF THE LTDP WOULD BE DONE ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THERE WILL BE AN ANNUAL REVIEW AND POSSIBLY REVISIONS, IN THE LIGHT OF PROGRESS ACHIEVED AND

PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED.

-- WE REALIZE CANADIAN MOD NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS INITIATIVE, BUT HOPE YOU WILL HELP US TURN IT OFF. THE PRESIDENT WILL PROBABLY WRITE TRUDEAU. WE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED LEST THE LAST-MINUTE CANADIAN BOMBSHELL DERAIL WHOLE SUMMIT/LTDP EXERCISE, WHICH SO BADLY NEEDED TO SET NATO ON NEW COOPERATIVE COURSE. END TALKING POINTS.

3. OUR DISCUSSION WITH THE CANADIAN EMBASSY HERE (POLITICAL-MILITARY COUNSELOR NUTTING) MAY 2ND ALSO INDICATED THAT THE CRUX OF OTTAWA'S PROBLEM IS THE NATURE OF THE COMMITMENT THAT HEADS OF GOVERNMENT WOULD GIVE AT THE SUMMIT. NUTTING, WHO DELIVERED A COPY OF MINISTER DANSON'S LETTER TO SECRETARY BROWN (DEFENDING THE CANADIAN COUNTER-PROPOSAL), PRESENTED OTTAWA'S CASE IN THE SAME TERMS THAT HARDY DID IN BRUSSELS (REF A). RPM DIRECTOR MADE CLEAR THAT WE DIFFERED SERIOUSLY WITH OTTAWA ON HOW TO HANDLE THE LTDP AT THE SUMMIT -- HEADS OF GOVERNMENT ARE ONLY COMMITTING THEIR GOVERNMENTS TO GENERALIZED UNDERTAKINGS TO PURSUE THE MAJOR MEASURES POSED IN THE 10 PROGRAM AREAS OF THE LTDP, NOT SPECIFIC COMMITMENTS

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OF LIQUIDATED BUDGETARY SUMS, WHICH THE US ADMINISTRATION ITSELF IS CONSTITUTIONALLY IN NO POSITION TO DO AT THIS POINT. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LTDP BY NATIONS WOULD OF COURSE FOLLOW FROM FURTHER COST REFINEMENT OF THE PROGRAM PROPOSALS, FURTHER EXAMINATION OF RESOURCES AVAILABLE, AND FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF TECHNICAL DETAILS IN SOME AREAS. WE

EXPRESSED KEEN DISAPPOINTMENT THAT THE CANADIAN COUNTER-PROPOSAL WOULD IN ITS CONSEQUENCES (A) ASK THE ALLIANCE TO DO AGAIN WHAT IT HAS BEEN DOING IN DEVELOPING THE LTDP OVER THE PAST YEAR, AND (B) LOSE AN HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE THE SUMMIT A CLEAR DEMONSTRATION OF ALLIANCE SOLIDARITY AND RESOLVE -- AND BE PERCEIVED AS SUCH BOTH BY OUR OWN PEOPLES AND BY ADVERSARIES -- TO HALT THE ADVERSE TRENDS EVIDENT IN OUR MILITARY BALANCE WITH THE WARSAU PACT.

CHRISTOPHER

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